

Linking Emigres to Writers at Trial

Is New Soviet Tactic

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Special to The Star

MOSCOW - The new aspect of last week's five-day trial of four young members of the literary underground was injection by the prosecutor of the anti-Soviet emigre organization NTS - Popular Labor Alliance. This could have ominous implications.

Hitherto there appeared to be no reason for assuming that the various groups of young dissenters who tangled with the law had any outside prompting.

They presumably were acting on their own initiative in claiming for themselves the civil liberties written into the Soviet constitution.

But last week, the government prosecutors sought to compound the defendants' guilt by forging a link with the NTS.

New Tactics

This required a shift in tactics. Previously, as in the trial of the hapless British lecturer Gerald Prooke, the Soviets maintained that the NTS was totally ineffective, and its contacts faked, mainly in order to impress the CIA, which supplied it with dollars.

Moreover Kim Philby, the British Intelligence agent who was in Moscow's pay, had boasted the NTS was thoroughly honeycombed by Soviet Intelligence.

Giving the formerly discredited NTS gratuitous publicity could put a different face on all the recent related trials by presenting those involved not as homegrown rebels, but as willing tools of hostile alien influences.

In turn this might set the stage for further trials.

Much of the answer to this speculation is presumably contained in the transcript of last week's proceedings, which is not yet available.

The trial was the fourth in the series launched two years ago with the conviction of writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel for smuggling their manuscripts for anonymous publication abroad.

Portions Reprinted

The latest defendants were arrested one year ago. One of them, Alexander Ginsburg, was arrested for compiling and distributing a "white paper" in defense of Sinyavsky and Daniel. The other three, Yuri Galanskov, Alexei Dobrovolsky and typist Mera Lashkova, for editing and circulating the underground literary magazine Phoenix 66.

Portions of the "white paper" had been reprinted in an NTS publication, but there was no attempt otherwise to link Ginsburg with the NTS or suggest he was responsible for such publication.

The prosecution claimed the other three defendants had been in touch with NTS agents who furnished them with funds and a duplicating machine.

These charges were based on the testimony of Dobrovolsky, the sole defendant to plead guilty. He drew a two-year sentence compared to seven for Galanskov and five for Ginsburg.

While it was expected that Galanskov would get the maximum demanded by the prosecutor, Gennady Terekhov, most observers were surprised by Ginsburg's sentence as the charges against him stemmed solely from the "white book."

While admitting responsibility for it, Ginsburg stoutly denied its contents were anti-Soviet or that he was guilty of any crime. He backed his arguments with quotations from Lenin.

Quizzed About Money

Much of the interrogation and testimony revolved around a sum of 2,000 rubles which Dobrovolsky alleged was passed to Galanskov by NTS agents. Galanskov claimed he had borrowed the money piecemeal from various friends to buy an apartment.

Galanskov's attorney requested the court to call as a witness former Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, fired some years back from the Frunze military academy for championing various rebel causes.

Grigorenko was prepared to testify that he had put up a large chunk of the money, but the court refused to call him. Dobrovolsky also claimed Galanskov had sold dollars on the black market.

had deliberately typed anything anti-Soviet, had no NTS or other foreign contacts, and knew of no foreign contacts by the others.

To shore up its case against Galanskov, the prosecutor produced as a witness Nicholas Sokolov from Venezuela, who was caught last month upon arrival from Paris with a load of subversive paraphernalia supplied by the NTS.

The NTS purportedly also had furnished him with photos of the defendants. But all he could testify was that his luggage included a portable duplicating machine of the same make as one Galanskov had.

Previous Reference

There had been references to NTS in the indictments of Vladimir Bukovsky, Vadim Delone and Evgeni Kushev who were tried last August for taking part in a demonstration the previous January demanding the release of the four convicted Friday.

The government charged that Kushev had obtained three NTS pamphlets from Dobrovolsky and Lashkov, and that Delone, an aspiring poet, had furnished an NTS emissary known as Philip with a copy of a seditious poem of his titled "Ballad of Incredulity."

But none of these allegations were brought up at the trial. The prosecutor confined himself to the article in the criminal code charging that the demonstrators had caused public disorder and blocked traffic.

Kushov and Delone received suspended sentences, having already spent seven months in jail. But Bukovsky got three years, as did another person who took part in the same demonstration but was sentenced at a separate trial last February, the second in the series.

Starting with the protests against the conviction of Sinyavsky and Daniel, recent months have been marked by a series of letters and petitions to the authorities, some with the signatures of leading writers, artists, scientists and scholars on a number of controversial issues.

To my knowledge none of the signatories suffered reprisals.

As for the trials, none of the defendants acted as if cowed or brainwashed. Though foreign correspondents were barred from the courtrooms, they could hang around outside and learn

something of what was going on inside and were free to report it.

All of this serves to measure how the atmosphere has changed since Stalin's time, when even the mildest dissenters simply disappeared without any bother over legal niceties.

By far the most active and outspoken champion of the defendants and critic of the courts in the recent trials has been Pavel Litvinov, grandson of the famous Soviet foreign minister.

His latest action in supplying the foreign press with a statement signed jointly by himself and Yuli Daniel's wife was unprecedented in Russia.

Before leaving Moscow yesterday after futile efforts to attend the trial and then to obtain transcripts of the proceedings, a Norwegian legal expert representing Amnesty International remarked that a similar protest denouncing the judge as a crook while a case was still being heard would make the signatories liable to contempt of court in most Western countries.

No such drastic action against Litvinov and Mrs. Daniel is anticipated here, at least for the

present, as this would only cause more adverse publicity abroad.

Litvinov apparently was prompted by his close friendship with Alexander Ginsburg, whom he considered completely innocent. There are no grounds for assuming Litvinov is anti-Soviet. According to his views, he is merely seeking to defend his friend and save the Soviet constitution from what he considers a miscarriage of justice.

But should the strands of NTS complicity be further extended, having been identified so closely with the defendants, Litvinov could find himself in serious trouble.